



HON. CLEMENT R. ATTLEE VISITS POLES

Major Clement R. Attlee, then Deputy Premier and now Prime Minister of Great Britain, in conversation with General Wladyslaw Anders, Commander of the Polish Second Corps, during Mr. Attlee's visit to Polish troops on the Italian front in the early part of September, 1944.

Forty-Seven Prominent Americans Appeal to President Truman to Save Poland and Democracy

On July 11, 1945, the following memorial was presented at the White House for transmission to President Harry S. Truman:

Dear Mr. President:

Before the opening of the great Conference where you will speak for the American people, we send you our best wishes and hopes for your success. We trust that the momentous questions facing the Conference will be decided according to the principles of justice which you have eloquently expressed. In particular we refer to Poland.

Now that a new Polish Government has been organized in Moscow, it will be easy for the diplomats to say the issue is closed. We cannot take that view. In our opinion unless you exact concrete guarantees of truly free elections, the new Government will be no more independent than the Lublin regime, which was recognized as a puppet throughout the free world. The new Government contains seventeen hold-overs from that Lublin regime, with only three who belong to the London group, none of them being a member of the Polish Government which was our ally throughout the war.

By no stretch of the imagination can this be called an honest fulfillment even of the Yalta agreement, an agreement which was itself described by President Roosevelt as in some respects a disappointing compromise on the Polish question.

If Russia succeeds in imposing her will to this extent, despite the Yalta agreement, she will be encouraged to apply the same imperialistic methods to all Central Europe and the Far East, with ultimate disaster to us all.

We are opposed to war with Russia. We have a profound respect for the Russian people and the military achievement of its army. We desperately hope that the San Francisco Charter will prove a success. But its objectives cannot be achieved if America closes its eyes to the destruction of the independence of a country which for five years fiercely resisted Nazi aggression. If we condone on the part of Russia what we condemned in Nazi Germany and Japan at the price of a million American casualties, the whole purpose of this war will have been lost.

Though Russia is a totalitarian state, there will be no war provided the leading democracies of the world are firm, united and just, in deeds as well as in words. But if they continue a foreign policy of weakness, hesitation and immoral compromise, despite our overwhelming power and prestige, then we fear for the future peace of the world and for democracy at home.

At the outset we wish to register a solemn protest against the so-called public trial of the sixteen Polish patriots at Moscow. In our opinion the case of the sixteen Poles involves a flagrant violation of human rights. As you said in San Francisco June 26th: "The Charter is dedicated to the observance of fundamental human rights and freedom. Unless we can obtain those objectives for all men everywhere—without regard to race, language and religion—we cannot have permanent peace and security in the world." If the American Government remains silent when these rights are violated, we fear that the San Francisco Charter will become a hollow mockery.

Unlike the Lublin Poles, who were virtually unknown until the Russian occupation of Poland, these sixteen Poles were leaders of the heroic Polish Underground which fought German domination, and who now oppose Russian domination.

The identity of these Polish patriots, which the Gestapo had never been able to discover, was with their consent revealed by the Polish Government in London. Its purpose was the transmission of these names to the Soviet Government so that, in conformity with the pledges made at Yalta, the Russians could confer with bona fide leaders of the Underground Polish political parties.

No better proof could have been offered of the desire of the democratic Poles, both inside and outside Poland, to negotiate an honest compromise than this voluntary disclosure of the Underground leadership, at a time when the Soviet Government and its Lublin puppets were ruling Poland through terror and deporting patriots to Siberia. Charges of such deportations and executions have repeatedly been made, not only by the Polish Underground but also by American and British prisoners of war returning from Nazi prison camps in Poland. In a fully documented article, the moderate London Economist of May 12 stated: "At the present time Poland is undergoing a process of virtual sovietization."

In inviting these sixteen Polish leaders to confer with a representative of the Soviet High Command, Colonel Pimenov of the N.K.V.D. explicitly guaranteed their safe conduct. We quote from his letter:

"... as an officer of the Red Army who has been en-

trusted with such a highly important mission, I guarantee to you on my word as an officer, that from that moment your fate will be in my hands, and that after your arrival at our quarters you will be absolutely safe."

(The original of this letter is in the possession of the Polish Government in London.)

What followed is history. The mission disappeared. The Soviet Government refused all information about their fate. Not until May 3, five weeks after their disappearance, did Mr. Molotov, in response to urgent queries by Messrs. Stettinius and Eden in San Francisco, admit that they had been arrested for "diversionary activities against the Red Army."

As Foreign Minister Eden said at San Francisco: "Most of these men were just the type who should, in our view, have been consulted about the new National Government in Poland, if such a Government were to be truly representative of Polish democratic political life, in accordance with the Crimea decision."

These men were inaccessible to the Soviet authorities because of the wonderful organization of the Polish Underground which for five years, had defied the best efforts of the Gestapo to stamp it out. Hence it was necessary to lure them to a meeting.

We believe there is no reasonable doubt that these arrests and trials represent another in the long series of Soviet maneuvers to subjugate the Polish people by discrediting their leaders, if they cannot be deported or executed.

Whether these men were "processed" into confessing—as in the case of those who confessed at the Moscow trials of 1937 and 1938, we do not know. But we do know that after being held incommunicado for 2½ months, these Polish envoys were tried in the same courtroom, before the same judge and with the same legal procedure which were used in the famous purge trials. There was no jury and the defendants were not even allowed to call witnesses.

Another motive behind this trial is evidenced by its timing to coincide with a conference a few blocks away on "broadening the Lublin Government," as required by the Yalta agreement. Obviously, the mere staging of this show trial made Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk, the London Poles who had come to negotiate, fear that unless they accepted the Russian terms in these negotiations, the sixteen Polish compatriots would be shot.

How well this blackmail worked is indicated by the following facts: The ratio of the new Polish cabinet, which emerged from these negotiations, is two members of the London group, plus one adherent in Poland just released from a Russian jail, to

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The Leper King.

The Greatness That Was Paderewski's.

Annual Subscription, Five Dollars—Single Copy, Twenty Cents

The Social Aspects of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising*

by JULIAN HOCHFELD

A VICTORIOUS insurrection does not require justification. An insurrection that has failed always becomes the subject of passionate discussion immediately afterwards and of historical evaluation in the future.

There is a tendency to look for the sources of social phenomena in current events. This is only partially correct, since at the origin of nearly every social phenomenon lie many elements of the past, including the very important one of historical traditions, which by their very nature, constitute—as one of the elements of human behavior—an irrational factor.

This factor operates in nearly every geographical latitude; it is far from being limited to “romantic” Poles. Under certain circumstances, even the wise British are subject to its influence, the British who can be no less romantic against the background of Kiplingesque reality than the Poles are against the background of their century and a half struggle for their very existence.

That is why, in analyzing the social aspects of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, we shall, to begin with, turn our attention not to current events only but to two important traditions.

The first is the traditional role of Warsaw in the struggle for national independence. Although the Warsaw Insurrection of 1794 was not the opening act in the Kosciuszko Insurrection, and although at first it broke out independently of the national uprising, it was nevertheless of vital and decisive significance. This significance lay in the fact that it was essentially the expression of the revolutionary aspirations of the alliance between the lower strata of the Warsaw craftsmen and the Jacobin military intelligentsia.

The Warsaw Insurrection of 1830 was the outgrowth of a similar alliance, with the difference that the somewhat anachronistic Jacobinism of the military intelligentsia gave place to other interests and aims. Later, under the conditions of emerging capitalism, social relations began to change. Led by the Polish Socialist Party, the Warsaw proletariat, in alliance with an important part of the intelligentsia, played a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle of 1904-1907. The role of the workers in the defense of Warsaw in September, 1939, the role of the Socialist Labor Movement in the defense of the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, the role of the Polish Socialist Party in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944—all these directly follow the same line of historical tradition.

Indissolubly linked with this is the other major tradition in Poland's struggle for freedom—the close connection between the fight for national independence and the spirit of social revolution, a connection developed and maintained throughout the last 150 years of Polish history.

The Polish revolutionary struggles wove themselves quite naturally into the chain whose other links were the barricades of the “Spring of the Peoples” of 1848, the social upheavals of the post-war years, the Vienna insurrection of 1934 and the heroic defense of Madrid of 1937.

The consciousness of the people of Warsaw is deeply steeped in these two traditions, which, without any doubt, are the basis of their uncompromising attitude and “irrational” heroism. To illustrate this it is necessary to cite some further facts.

The Socialist proletariat of Warsaw assumed the initiative in the defense of Warsaw in September, 1939. On September 14, the military officer in charge of the Warsaw radio declared in a conversation:

“I have the feeling that the workers' action in the defense

of Warsaw smacks of a socialist revolution. So be it, then, so long as we save Poland.”

What a far cry this is from Weygand's decision in 1940 in response to the problem of whether to arm the people and entrust them with the defense of Paris or to let the Germans in. General Weygand answered, in effect:

“Arm the workers? Never! Better deliver Paris to the Germans!”

In its issue of September 9, 1943, the “Information Bulletin,” underground organ of the Polish Home Army, carried an article entitled: “What Kind of Poland Are We Fighting For?” This article clearly stated that a future Poland must have “freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of association; it will be a Poland of social justice and welfare for the wide masses, liberated from capitalistic chaos; a Poland which will nationalize its great factories and plants; a Poland which will fundamentally transform its agrarian régime, modernize its system of distributing goods, expand its network of cooperatives and industrialize the country.” These goals are vital because the nation is fighting for a “Poland of political democracy and for democratization of both economic life and culture.”

The decrees of August 18, 1944, establishing employee participation in the management of factories and introducing agrarian reform, were broadcast over the waves of the free radio-station of Fighting Warsaw. These decrees were the beginning of the practical realization of the above principles, a beginning that did not even wait for the end of the struggle in the capital.

Finally, no one can overlook the significance of the fact that the Warsaw section of the Home Army, which provided the very basis for the Warsaw Uprising, was composed of the following three infantry divisions: the 8th, bearing the name of Romuald Traugutt,¹ the 10th, named for Maciej Rataj,² and the 28th, bearing the name of Stefan Okrzeja.³ The Okrzeja Division—or rather what remained of it—was the last to lay down its arms.

The social goals and traditions of this truly people's army explain why its commander, General Bor, insistently urged the Government in London to hasten and complete the decrees regarding agrarian reform and the socialization of the key branches of production.

Such is the path followed by red Warsaw, and that is why the hearts of the fighters on the Warsaw barricades “beat in unison.”

Against the background of these traditions, the alliance of the army and the people—the alliance between the Home Army and the working masses active in the Underground movement of resistance and in the Warsaw Uprising—takes on its proper significance.

What was the Home Army? We are not, for the present, interested in its technical organizations, its equipment and training, its methods of fighting. We are interested in its social character, its weight as an independent and, undoubtedly, definite factor in the social strength of the Underground movement.

The nucleus of the Underground Army began to form immediately after the September campaign of 1939. At the same time, however, the various political parties formed their own fighting or military detachments, which attracted young ele-

¹ Leader of the Polish insurrection in 1863 against Czarist Russia.

² Prominent Polish Peasant leader, former speaker of the Polish Diet (1922-1928) member of the Warsaw Defense Committee in 1939, subsequently executed by the Nazis in 1939.

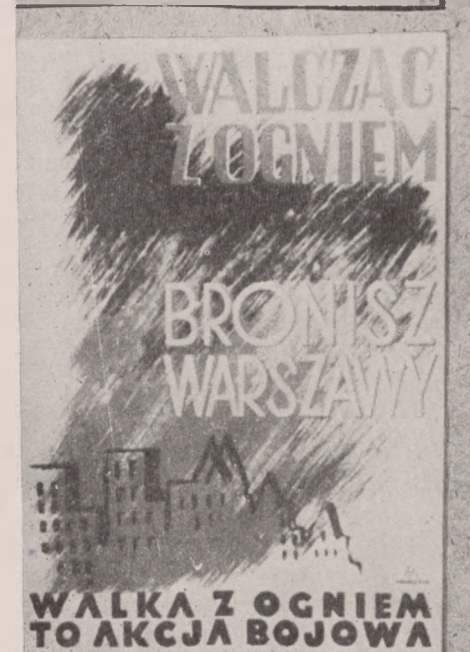
³ Labor hero in the revolutionary year 1905, he was hanged in Warsaw by the Czarist Russian authorities.

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* Condensed from *Journal of Central European Affairs*, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, Volume Five, Number One, April, 1945.



Top row: Battle posters of Warsaw's Uprising: "Every shell—one dead German," "To Arms in the ranks of the Home Army," "In fight—revenge for the blood of thousands of Poles." Below: Posters for civilians: "Hygiene and cleanliness fight epidemics," "Battling fires you defend Warsaw—Fire-fighting is military action."



THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE 1944 WARSAW UPRISING

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ments inspired by the highest ideological aims. In 1942 closer collaboration was established at home between the parties represented in the Polish Government. Simultaneously, the military effort was unified and the several military organizations were placed under unified leadership, under the control of the central political factor—the Underground State.

Three factors have contributed to the character of the Home Army. Of first importance is the fact that the Home Army was composed of active and reserve forces developed under the control of political organizations, and educated by these organizations. They were thus connected directly with the people and were free from the cult of external military accessories and the military caste ideology. The training of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers took place in quite another mental atmosphere: "group privileges," drill, marches, stars, number of stripes, the manner of wearing the military uniforms, etc., were of no interest to anyone involved. Entirely different criteria decided the selection of officers and non-commissioned officers, who came from the same ideological and social environment as those whom they were to lead. And though an important proportion of the soldiers of the Home Army came from the younger intelligentsia, these young men had all the necessary qualities and prerequisites for becoming patriotic in the Jacobin tradition.

Second, the Polish Socialist Party which had behind it the tradition and the experience of many years of fighting and activity, showed from the very first a deep understanding of the meaning and importance of continuing these activities under the new conditions.

The military formations of the Polish Socialist Party entered the Home Army in compact ranks as active units and as units of reserve forces and militia, and in a number of industrial centers, particularly in Warsaw, they gave the Home Army its specific character. At the same time, the control over all the military activities, carefully and wisely exercised by the Polish Socialist Party as one of the parties of the National Coalition had positive results. The role which the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) played in relation to the Home Army can only be compared with the role and activities of the Spanish Left in relation to the Spanish Republican Army.

These leading elements of the Home Army, the elements which we call the new military intelligentsia, have again played the role of their predecessors in the Kosciuszko Insurrection, in Dombrowski's Legions, in the 1830 Insurrection, the 1863 Insurrection, the European revolutions of the nineteenth century, and the Legions of 1914 during World War I. This role has traditionally been played by the military intelligentsia in the history of Poland in association with the working people of the cities.

It would be an unpardonable error to overlook the role of the so-called Peasants' Battalions, the underground military formations of the Polish Peasant Party, which also entered the Home Army in compact ranks. In the discussion of the Warsaw

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Scenes from the Last Days of the Warsaw Uprising



The Magnitude of the Polish Air Force Effort in the War Against Germany

by RYSZARD MALCZEWSKI

IF THE Polish effort in this war is considered in proportion to the effort made by other countries with far larger resources, then it would be difficult to find a figure which would indicate the magnitude of the effort contributed by the Polish Air Force in the war against Germany.

All this has now become history, and the aim of this article is to present one branch of our Air Force—the Fighter Force—in its activities, its endeavors, its losses and its victories, within the general framework of the war effort against Germany.

The period of the present war, 1939-1945, may be defined in six definite phases, each distinct in itself, and in each of which the Polish Fighter Force played a definite role:

1. The September Campaign, 1939.
2. The Campaign in France, 1940.
3. The Battle of Britain—August, September, October, 1940.
4. The period from November 1, 1940 to June 6, 1944 (England).
5. The African Campaign, 1943.
6. The Invasion Operation, June 6, 1944 to May 9, 1945.

1. September Campaign, 1939

Seven Fighter Squadrons, equipped with P-11c and P-7 aircraft, total strength 150 planes, participated in this campaign for 19 days, resisting with gallantry and determination the overwhelming numerical and technical strength of the Luftwaffe. Losses in equipment amounted to approximately 95%. The number of Luftwaffe aircraft destroyed by the Polish Air Force amounted to some 175 machines:

The characteristic of this period was the fighting carried out against overwhelming odds with an admirable spirit.

2. The French Campaign, 1940

The short period for reorganization and all the difficulties in this connection did not permit the Polish Fighter Force as a whole to participate in this campaign. Only one entirely Polish Unit took part—Squadron Number 1/145. In addition, several odd Flights were attached to various French Squadrons or took part in the defense of French Air Bases.

Altogether, about 145 Polish Fighter Pilots took part in the Battle of France—fully trained pilots who scored 59 victories against the loss of 17 of their own men.

The general conditions in this campaign could, in many respects, be compared with the difficult conditions of the September Campaign in Poland, the only difference being that the aircraft used were slightly better.

3. The Battle of Britain—August, September, October, 1940

The collapse of France was followed by the evacuation of the Polish Air Force to Great Britain. The Polish Air Force was there reorganized, in accordance with agreements between the Polish and the British Governments. The Fighter Force was the first to be able to challenge the Germans in this third period of air battles, and it fought with great gallantry and assisted the Royal Air Force in the defense of the British Isles at the most crucial moment of the war, when Britain found herself alone and at bay.

The Polish Fighter Force took up the battle without waiting for any guarantees. The defense of this country became for our airmen the continuation of the defense of Warsaw and Westerplatte.

The Polish Fighter Force paid a heavy toll in the Battle of Britain in the loss of its best pilots, who passed from its ranks fighting for the freedom of their own country in foreign skies and defending an Allied country with the same dogged-



A Polish ace.

ness and determination with which they had defended Poland.

The units taking part in the Battle of Britain were two entirely Polish Squadrons—Squadron No. 303 (Tadeusz Kosciuszko's "Warsaw" Squadron) and Squadron No. 302 ("Poznan"), besides a great number of Polish pilots who took part in Royal Air Force Squadrons.

The result of this three months' battle against Hitler's Luftwaffe was a success which is still admired by the whole world.

Squadron 303 was organized from Fighter Flights No. 111 and 112 of the first Polish Air Force Regiment. This Squadron scored 105 enemy aircraft destroyed, with eight probables and six damaged, against their own losses of 16 pilots. This is one of the most outstanding results attained in this war, and this Squadron may be considered as one of the best in the whole Fighter Forces of the British Empire.

Squadron 302, which was the first to be organized in England, scored 16 enemy aircraft destroyed, 11 probables and two damaged.

The 60 Polish pilots fighting in various Royal Air Force Squadrons, scored 78 enemy aircraft destroyed, 15 probables, and 28 damaged. In order fully to appreciate the significance of these bare figures and to estimate the importance of the Polish Fighter Force in the defense of Great Britain, it is necessary to compare them with the total achievements of the Royal Air Force.

During the Battle of Britain, 2,335 enemy aircraft were destroyed, of which number 273 were taken care of by Polish pilots. Deducting from this total number all the enemy aircraft downed by the Balloon Barrage and the Anti-Aircraft Artillery, it is found that the aggregate of enemy aircraft

destroyed by Polish pilots amounted to 15%, which is eloquent enough in itself.

4. Period from November 1, 1940 to June 6, 1944 (England)

The fourth period of the World War, beginning on November 1, 1940 and ending with the Invasion Operations in June, 1944, was a long period of continuous fighting for the whole Polish Fighter Air Force. New Polish Squadrons were formed, training was carried on, and the Air Force was prepared for undertaking these four-year operations with the eventual aim of obtaining air superiority and switching the battle from the defensive to the offensive, by destroying enemy aircraft to an extent which would make it possible in the last period of the war to carry out the final victorious invasion of the Continent.

The following Polish Fighter Squadrons were formed in this period:

- Fighter Squadron No. 317 (Wilno)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 306 (Torun)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 316 (Warsaw)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 308 (Cracow)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 315 (Deblin)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 307 (Lwow)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 309 (Red Ruthenia)
 - Fighter Squadron No. 318 (Danzig-Gdansk)
- Reconnaissance

These Squadrons were organized into Fighter Wings and began their operations against the enemy. The worse the news was from their homes in Poland, the harder were their efforts against the foe. This was the beginning of the revenge which soon turned into the defeat of Germany.

These four years of continuous fighting brought heavy losses to the Polish Squadrons in all theatres of operations. It was also a period when team victories, as well as individual victories, were scored. It was a period of strenuous co-operation with the Bomber Air Force, of continuous co-operation with Royal Air Force Squadrons, and later, also with the United States Army Air Forces.

There were no operations in which the Polish Fighter Force did not take part: the escorting of convoys, Dieppe, the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, the first fighter operation over Paris, the escorting of Bomber Squadrons on day operations over Germany, the destruction of V-1 and V-2 Bases, attacks on airfields and other installations, operations against enemy shipping, the destruction of enemy communications, and all kinds of minor operations where the Polish Air Force was always ready to stand by.

We also must not forget the work done by the Night Fighter pilots who, in 1941 and 1942, participated in the defense of important industrial cities in Britain. Later on they also took part in the destruction of enemy shipping and

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The Squadron-Leader reports "Five Down!" on landing at his airfield.

Drawing by S. Horowitz

Jagiello Monument in New York is Unveiled on 535th Anniversary of Grunwald

FIVE hundred and thirty-five years ago, on a July day in what is now East Prussia, Wladyslaw Jagiello, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, as tradition holds, raised his arms over his head and triumphantly crossed the two captured Teutonic swords he held in a signal of thanksgiving for the victory of his Polish soldiers over the Teutonic Knights of the Cross who had so gravely menaced Poland.

Stanislaw K. Ostrowski's heroic equestrian statue symbolizing that great moment in Polish history was unveiled on July 15, 1945, in Central Park and was presented to the City of New York as a permanent memorial. More than 2,000 persons braved a torrential rainstorm to hear a number of prominent speakers pay tribute to the Polish-Lithuanian king who checked an early German "drive to the East."

The ceremonies were opened with the singing of the American and Polish national anthems by Miss Evelyn Lane and Miss Krystyna Sokolowska respectively.

In his presentation address, the Hon. Joseph Onka, President of the King Jagiello Monument Committee, said that "The victory at Grunwald or Tannenberg as it is sometimes called, saved Poland as a State and created a defensive rampart for the other distant Slavs. But," he continued, "it saved even more . . . it saved Polish nationality and culture . . . And this beautiful memorial is not only in memory of a triumph for democracy and freedom, but it is to this day, and it will be for centuries to come a reminder to those who admired it, that Poland 535 years ago, crushed German aggression, an event, as a result of which a strong, immortal rock of Polish existence was founded.

"Twice in this century," Mr. Onka continued, "German aggression has been defeated, but Poland must still fight for her right to be master of her own land, for the right of her people to live under her constitution adopted before World

War II. I am filled with hope and assurance." Mr. Onka went on, "that America will continue to be the advocate of the rights of Poland, that Poland which was the first to fight for freedom and Christianity in World War II, and which, tragically, because of her geographical position, was always forced into wars by her neighbors to defend her integrity.

"Poland's Grunwald will live on in history," Mr. Onka concluded, "We must all help to achieve the victory of democracy over Asiatic totalitarianism."

Presenting a scroll to the Hon. Newbold Morris, President of the City Council who acted for Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, Mr. Onka expressed the hope that a place would be found in the City Hall for this "symbol of Polish glory."

Accepting the monument in the name of the city, Mr. Morris referred to the traditions of freedom and the cultural heritage of Poland. "Long after Hitler is dead and forgotten," Mr. Morris asserted, "the music of Chopin will inspire the hearts of people and enrich their spirits. Poland has a right to her national integrity and to the sovereignty of her people.

"And so, in that spirit we welcome King Jagiello to one of the high monumental sites of Central Park, and here he will ride through the years to come, through sunshine and rain, through spring and autumn, his arms upraised, his swords crossed in protest against selfishness and greed, against militarism, against powerful nations or powerful people who feel that just because they are powerful, they can push other nations and other people around.

"King Jagiello," Mr. Morris concluded, "all of us, not only those of Polish extraction, but all the citizens of New York, greet you today and dedicate your image to the inspiration of many millions of us who live in freedom and of those yet unborn, who will find in your story the heroism that makes men rise above hatred and conflict."

Following Mr. Morris' speech, the Polish Singers of America, Seventh District, sang two prayers, *Gaude Mater Polonia* and the Prayer of King Jagiello; the soloists were Frank Jachimowicz and William Kostecki, tenors, and Anthony Machnik, baritone.

Just before the actual unveiling, Polish-American Gold Star Mothers of the present war laid a symbolic black, red and blue wreath at Jagiello's feet.

Mrs. Jadwiga Nowosacka of New York City whose son, Ensign Theodore, was killed on the U.S.S. *Arizona* during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, unveiled the statue,



Statue of King Wladyslaw Jagiello by Stanislaw Ostrowski in Central Park, New York City.

Photo by Boutrelle

aided by four members of the Armed Forces who helped with the ropes that held the rain-soaked Polish flags draping the equestrian figure. During the undrapping, Tadeusz Maksymowicz of New York played the "Hejnal."

Comparing the danger facing Poland more than five centuries ago before Jagiello and the Polish Army defeated the rampant Teutonic Knights with the present dark days through which the martyred Polish nation is passing, Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, expressed the hope that the clouds would clear away and that a brighter day of true freedom would soon dawn for Poland. Speaking on the subject of "Poland from King Jagiello's Time to the Present," Prof. Halecki recalled another ceremony at which a Grunwald monument was unveiled in 1910 at Cracow. This monument had been the gift of the world-famous Polish pianist, Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Prof. Halecki concluded by describing Poland's centuries-old fight against Teutonic aggression and her struggle for independence and integrity.

Rev. Edward West, Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and representative of the Hon. W. T. Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, expressed great admiration for the Polish nation and praised Polish-Americans for their part in building up the United States.

The Hon. John A. Pateracki, Chairman of the Unveiling Ceremonies of the King Jagiello Memorial opened his speech with a quotation from William Cabot Lodge: "Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs, and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty." Mr. Pateracki continued: "It is befitting that this dedication take place on July 15, 1945, for it was on July 15, 1410 that King Jagiello met and defeated the tyrannical Teutonic Knights, the forebears of the Nazis. Then, as now, the Germans stood defeated, but even in victory, Poland has had its political and diplomatic trials and tribulations.

"After Victory in World War II, Poland is again menaced by the internal and external forces that Jagiello faced. Six million American citizens of Polish origin pray that there is something prophetic about our being here today, for if history repeats itself, the greatness and freedom of Poland, and her right to assume her position among the Powers of the earth will be restored without delay, as repeatedly guaranteed by the United Nations. Six million American Poles insist upon the restoration of Poland to her people free of

outside influences, with a true Pole at the head of the Nation such as was the great King Jagiello.

"We are pleased," Mr. Pateracki continued, "that the Consuls General of China, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and many other nations be here present to join with us in this historic event, and our best wishes and felicitations go out through them to their peoples."

The ceremony was concluded with a benediction by Bishop Joseph P. Donohue, Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of New York. Music was provided by the 69th Regimental Band. The ceremonies were broadcast over radio stations WNYC and WHOM.

The story of how the statue was moved from the deserted grounds of the former New York World's Fair and set up before the Great Lawn Lake in Central Park is one of the hard labor and devotion of Polish-Americans who were determined to save this work of art.

When, after the New York World's Fair had closed and the war had prevented realization of the project to transfer the statue to some large Polish city, Polish-Americans became concerned about the fate of the monument still standing on the deserted Flushing Meadows.

In 1942, the Central of Polish-American Societies in New York, realizing what a grave artistic and historic loss destruction of the statue would be, turned to Mayor LaGuardia and the New York City Commissioner of Parks, Mr. Robert Moses who gave their permission to remove the statue to a permanent site in Central Park.

This consent by the city authorities came as the climax of more than a year's work by the officers of the Central who at a convention held February 19, 1943 elected a temporary committee composed of the following persons: Judge Jozef Glebocki, Stanislaw Gawkowski, Jan Maceluch and the fol-

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Photo by T. Lopus

During a heavy downpour, Polish-American Gold Star Mothers lay a wreath at Jagiello's feet.



Photo by T. Lopus

Members of the King Jagiello Monument Committee before the statue placed in Central Park—thanks to their initiative and efforts.

THE EXTRAORDINARY STORY OF A SMALL POLISH VILLAGE

by STANISLAW

POLERT



Msgr. W. Blizinski who transformed the backward village of Liskow into a modern community.

IN 1900 Liskow was a forsaken little village in what was then Russian-occupied Poland. Sixty-two miles from the nearest railroad line and nine miles from the nearest highway, its land was barren, its cottages dilapidated, its roads impassable and its population illiterate and undernourished. Some thirty years later, the members of a special League of Nations commission who visited Liskow in independent Poland as part of their study of peasant life in Europe were amazed to find a model, prosperous community boasting electricity, sewage disposal, running water, fine pavements, athletic fields, its own newspaper, and dozens of modern buildings housing cooperatives, trade schools, an academic high school, a home for the aged, recreation halls, a telephone exchange, a library and reading room, a hospital, an orphanage, health stations, etc., etc.

How did this transformation come to pass? The story is as fascinating as it is heart-warming. It is above all a living monument to the vision and initiative of one man—Father Wacław Blizinski, and a demonstration that team work, goodwill, and the cooperation and enthusiasm of a community can work wonders.

Our narrative begins in 1900 when a thirty-year old energetic vicar from Włocławek Cathedral arrived in Liskow to take over the duties of parish priest. His expectations had not been very high, but what he found was downright appalling. However, instead of becoming discouraged by the poverty and neglect, Father Blizinski set about tending to the spiritual and temporal needs of his flock.

After two years of intensive work, the young cleric could already take pride in his achievements. A pleasant church stood where once there had been only a wooden shed. A number of nurseries had been founded and in them, in defiance of the Russian authorities, the older generation was secretly taught to read and write. Subscribing to several peasant newspapers, Father Blizinski encouraged his parishioners to read them. In order to instill a respect for trees in the children he arranged tree-planting ceremonies, which gradually turned Liskow into a profusion of foliage.

This socially-minded priest then directed his attention to the village's economic improvement. He organized a consumers' cooperative, the first rural cooperative in all of Russian-held Poland. This fared so well, that the project of

Mutual Fire Insurance was readily accepted by the parishioners.

In 1906 Father Blizinski founded an agricultural club which imported seeds, farming tools and artificial fertilizer, maintained studs and boars, and arranged talks on subjects related to the farmers' needs. In the same year, Liskow embarked on a folk industry program. The three textile workshops established at that time grew to thirty-six by 1914 and their products were sold even beyond the boundaries of Russian-held Poland. To achieve greater dairy production, a dairy cooperative was formed in 1911. A unique feature of this society was the payment of insurance in the event a cow died.

Realizing the villagers' need for a central meeting place, Father Blizinski bought an old store soon after his arrival in Liskow and when this proved inadequate, launched a campaign to build a large Community Center. He himself sold a team of horses, a carriage and other articles to help raise the much needed cash. Four years later a neat building stood in the village. It housed the consumers' cooperative, a nursery, a theatre, a bank, a trade school, an assembly hall. In time the various local organizations also met in the Community Center: the Agrarian Club, the Village Housewives Club, the Association of Reservists, the Catholic Action, the Young People's League, the Riflemen's Association, the Red Cross, the Dramatic Circle, Military Preparedness.

Anxious to improve the hygienic level of the village, Father Blizinski introduced public baths in 1910 and established a laundry equipped with labor-saving devices.

Shortly before World War I, Father Blizinski's patriotic activity brought down the wrath of the Russian authorities upon him. The nurseries, which were in reality secret Polish schools, were ordered closed. And when the priest protested against various Russian abuses, the Russian police began to conduct house searches and to make arrests in the village. On one occasion gendarmes arrived at night to arrest Father Blizinski himself. His villagers, however, lighted a haystack to signal for help and the population of the surrounding villages arrived post-haste to save their beloved leader. It was his eloquence that saved the policemen from being lynched by the angry mob.

The outbreak of World War I, the flight of the Russians, the burning by the Germans of defenseless near-by Kalisz, struck Father Blizinski like a thunderbolt. One hundred and fifty refugee families from Kalisz arrived in Liskow in need of



Village boys learn toy-making at one of Liskow's trade schools.

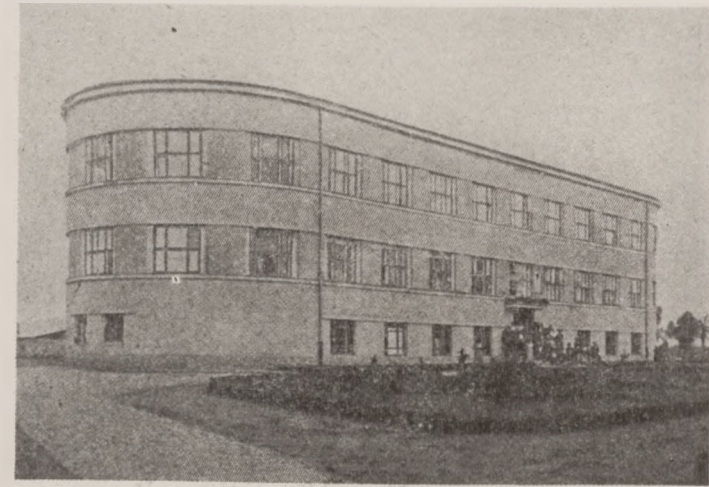
food and shelter. Moreover, the retreating Russians had taken with them all the funds in the local branch of the State Bank. At the risk of his life, Father Blizinski crossed the German and Russian lines into Warsaw, returning with money from the Polish capital.

Even the hectic war years did not interrupt Liskow's development. In 1918 Liskow became the proud site of an academic high school, including dormitory facilities, erected with the help of the refugees from Kalisz. Other wartime improvements were the installing of a postal transportation service carrying mail and passengers, the founding of a clinic, the organization of a cooperative building organization which built its own brick-kiln in Liskow, the opening of a number of elementary schools, the starting of brick-making courses. In the last year of World War I a great peasant convention met in Liskow and dedicated a monument to Kosciuszko in front of the Community Center. The ceremonies were patriotic, including mass exercises with white and red Polish flags. This was followed by the visit of German gendarmes who in Father Blizinski's absence arrested two of his assistants and levied a large contribution on the community.

Time and again, the peasants of Liskow demonstrated their patriotism. Toward the end of the war a Liskow unit of the Polish Military Organization was formed, which participated in the disarming of the Germans.

In 1920 when the Bolshevik steamroller threatened to crush the newly won Polish independence, Liskow's young people joined the army.

With the retreat of the Russians, new responsibilities fell upon the model village. The city of Bialystok in Eastern Poland had to be evacuated, and a group of 800 Polish orphans brought from Russia and cared for by the American Red Cross had to find refuge elsewhere. Generous Liskow took them in for the duration. But the retreating Russians left few buildings standing in Bialystok. To make matters worse, the American mission left the country. What was Liskow to do with 800 Polish orphans? It settled the problem by deciding to keep them. Thus came into being a new institution in Liskow, a permanent St. Wacław's Orphanage. As these children grew up and left, their places were taken by orphans sent by Polish consulates abroad. In this way, Liskow paid back part of the debt it had incurred when it accepted donations from Poles in Canada and the United States. In 1930 this piece of philanthropy was supplemented



Girls' Dormitory at the Orphanage maintained by the community of Liskow.

by Father Blizinski's acquisition of land in Krzyżowki for a Summer Colony designed to give the children from the Liskow Orphanage and children from the industrial city of Łódź a supervised wholesome vacation.

In recognition of his long and fruitful association with Polish peasantry, the Polish Government bestowed upon Father Blizinski the order of *Polonia Restituta*, the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences granted him one of its awards, while the Catholic Church elevated him to the rank of Monsignor.

In 1937 Liskow organized an exhibition entitled "The Polish Village." From all corners of Poland hundreds of thousands of visitors came by special excursion train, by plane and by automobile to admire what the citizens of the famous village had accomplished in the space of a few decades.

Then came the German invasion. Once again these proud, patriotic Poles found themselves under the aggressor's heel. The village of Liskow was made part of Germany and its population suffered the fate reserved for the Western provinces. But no amount of persecution and execution could extinguish the spirit of Liskow or destroy the memory of the fine example of what the collective will of a people and the unselfish and intelligent guidance of its leaders can achieve.

JAGIELLO MONUMENT IS UNVEILED ON 535TH ANNIVERSARY OF GRUNWALD

(Continued from page 9)

lowing officers of the Central: Francis X. Wazeter, B. Malinowski, Irena Dobiecka, Jan Warchow, F. Kwasnicki, and J. Goscinski. This committee examined the state of the monument and decided to seek a suitable site for it.

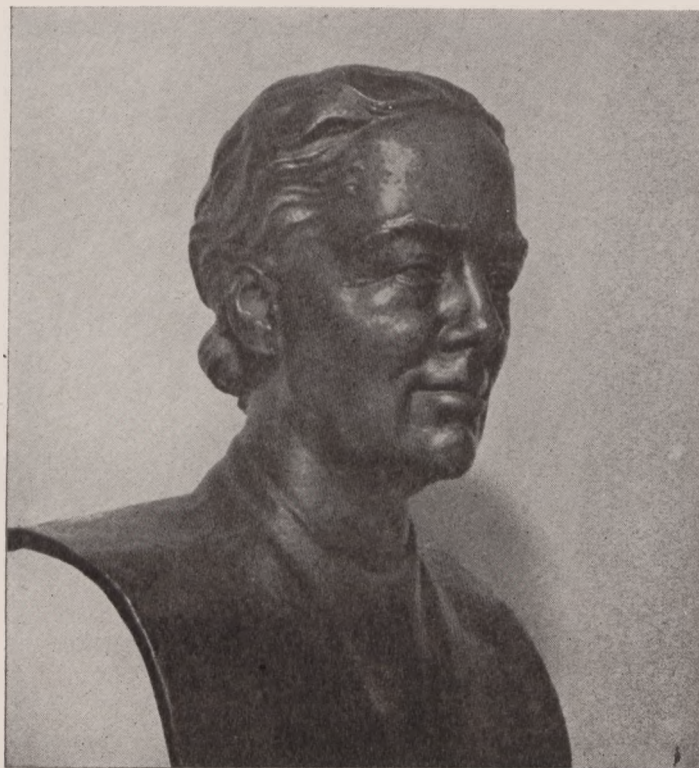
Believing that the future of the monument was of concern to all Polish-Americans, the temporary committee presented the whole matter to the Polish-American Congress in Buffalo, N. Y. Following the Congress, a permanent committee was formed at the Polish National Home in New York City. Joseph Onka, Sr., former mayor of Manville, N. J., was elected president; Francis X. Wazeter, and Felicja Ross vice-presidents; Marjan Kilarski, treasurer; Teofila Jablonska, financial secretary; and Kazimierz Koszarski, recording secretary. The following persons were elected to the technical committee: Judge Jozef Glebocki, chairman; Władysław Robaczynski, Marjan Kilarski and Jan Stojowski. Jan Pateracki, President of the General Pulaski Memorial Committee, was called upon to head the Administrative Committee, that

was composed of Anna Kazmierczak, Wanda Lipowska, Jan Pol, Marja Regula, Władysław Robaczynski, Jan Stojowski, Jan Warchow, Kazimierz Zielinski and Ignatius Nurkiewicz. This committee was incorporated and at a meeting held July 24, 1944, signed a Charter. On August 4, 1944, President Onka named a revisionist committee headed by Leon V. Malanowski, and composed of Stanisław Gruchacz, William Stachurski, Wacław Pilch, A. Kwiatkowski, and Leon Tomaszewski. On August 13th, 1944, the statue was removed from the former Fair Grounds at a ceremony in which Mayor La Guardia, Consul General Sylwin Strakacz and Monsignor Dworzak participated.

The technical committee chose the proper site for the Monument in Central Park with the approval of the city, engaged an architect to create plans for the pedestal and foundation and a contractor to execute them. Mr. Aymar Embury, II, Consulting Architect of the Department of Parks of the City of New York prepared the design of the Memorial while W. E. Anderson and Sons, Inc., built the permanent structure.

THE LEPER KING

by ZOFIA KOSSAK



Zofia Kossak. Bronze by Zofia Trzcinska-Kaminska.

THOUGH the day was drawing to its close, the heat had not subsided. Mount Hattin was piled with heaps of corpses that leveled the depression of its saddle top. From a distance the blood-stained hill looked as if it were overgrown with coral.

There was silence on Mount Hattin. All the knights were dead.

The King, Reynald de Chatillon and the Grand Master of the Templars had fallen prisoners to the Moslems. Half-swooning, unable even to raise their swords, they were led into the presence of the Sultan.

Saladin had already left the field of battle and was seated in the shade of his tent. Two slaves waved great fans to and fro above his head. A tray of cooling ices, on a low stool, stood near the Sultan.

At a sign from Saladin, one of the emirs removed the helmet from the King's head and wiped his face with a damp kerchief. Guy's eyes were glazed; through his baked lips he breathed with difficulty.

Saladin reached for a goblet heaped with rose ice and without a word offered it to Guy. With shaking hands the King grasped the cup and raised it to his mouth. Guy knew neither how to be King nor how to command. He was not a hero. But he remained what he always had been—a good, if easygoing boy.

* * *

The night, like the preceding one, was dark and breathless. Saladin could not sleep. The victor's reward should be deep, happy sleep. It was not his. Why did he sorrow still? For almost a hundred years the Latin state had been an unbearable thorn in Islam's side. It had now ceased to exist. Its army was vanquished; its King in captivity. Its defenseless towns and castles awaited the conqueror. Fortunate—many times fortunate had been this day!

To Saladin came his son, al Afdal. He was beaming. His

*THE LEPER KING, a novel by Zofia Kossak, translated by F. S. Placzek, 252 pp., Roy Publishers, New York, 1945, \$2.50.

eyes glittered rapaciously.

"I saw the light in your tent, Ruler of the Faithful, and I have come to tell you that everything is settled. I have divided the slaves. The best we can sell and the crippled and wounded we are cutting down. We shall probably not be done before morning for half of them are not worth keeping."

Saladin shivered with horror. "Afdal, do not speak of it to me."

"First of all," Afdal continued, paying no attention to his father's protest, "we beheaded all of the Templar's servants. A rotten lot! We could not do it to the knights as not one remained alive. Is it true, Ruler of the Faithful, that you have spared the Grand Master's life?"

"True," the Sultan said reluctantly.

Afdal flushed with anger. "Why did you do it, Ruler of the Faithful? This man is worthy neither of mercy nor respect."

"I am well aware of that, Afdal. It was your cousin, Abdullah, who came to me before supper begging for the Grand Master's life. I promised Abdullah long ago, that I would grant him anything he desired. He demanded this knight's head. I could not refuse."

"What does the Grand Master matter to Abdullah? They did not even know each other."

"I cannot tell, my son. It is enough that he begged and I had to do as he asked. Moreover, we owe today's victory to the Grand Master. The King told me that Ridefort forced him to abandon Saffuriya."

"Let him live, then. May we set out tomorrow for the occupation of Jerusalem, Ruler of the Faithful?"

"I shall go myself, but I will have no further shedding of blood. Enough has flowed. Leave the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the other cities in peace. Anyone guilty of violence or plunder will be severely punished. The churches must not be touched."

Al Afdal listened with increasing ill-temper.

"Ruler of the Faithful," he stammered, "has your splendid heart forgotten the carnage perpetrated by the Franks when they took Jerusalem? They spared no one, neither women nor children. Blood ran through every street."

"I remember it well, my son, but I do not intend to imitate the Franks. I have stated my will. I do not wish to see any more blood. Neither do I wish to humiliate the vanquished."

The son bowed deeply without uttering a word. In his soul he felt that his father, the Ruler of the Faithful, must have begun to grow old, if he quaked at the sight of blood.

The father read his thoughts.

He thinks that I am an old fool, and that he could lead better. Who knows, perhaps I am growing old? If I were young, I should rejoice in today's victory. I should rejoice.

But it was useless to repeat it to himself, useless to struggle against his lack of interest. His sadness was stubborn. The kingdom of the Franks had fallen; its days were over. The faith of the Christians was as imperfect as the faith of all other peoples. The cross had fallen, and God had not raised it. There was nothing left for Saladin to learn, nothing for him to seek.

Was this possible? No! NO! Impossible! If that were so, it were a hundred times better to live like the beast without thought, without searching one's heart, to pray by twirling and howling like a dervish, to ponder over one's existence no more than a camel or a jackal, to renounce all human dignity, and after the manner of every beast of prey to oppress the weak. For if that were so, why all this aspiring and to what?

Dignity, wisdom, goodness, and self-sacrifice are all rungs of the ladder that should carry one high. To the very feet of God. But if this ladder led nowhere, abruptly left off, hung

(Please turn to page 16)

THE GREATNESS THAT WAS PADEREWSKI'S

On the fourth anniversary of Paderewski's death, Professor Sigismond Stojowski, his life-long friend, related personal memories of the great Polish artist and statesman in an interview with Henry Milo, news commentator, over radio station WINS, New York City. The interview follows:

Mr. Milo: It has been rightly said that a man is great by what he is, what he does and what he makes others do. On this three-fold aspect of Paderewski's greatness our guest today, Professor Sigismond Stojowski, Polish leader and artist in his own right, life-long friend, disciple and collaborator of the unforgettable Master who passed away four years ago, is certainly qualified to speak with an authority that equals his conviction.

Would you please, Professor Stojowski, retrace for us some memories of your precious association?

Prof. Stojowski: I have always held that friendship is, like the violet, a delicate flower that shuns the winds of publicity. By a sad dispensation, however, human forgetfulness, even of the unforgettable, is the second and final shroud of the departed. It then behooves surviving friendships to remain on the witness stand, to point to what should be an unextinguishable beacon-light for generations to come. I once heard Paderewski say of a distinguished visitor: "It seems that light floods the room when he enters." To none could this more truthfully apply than to Paderewski himself. A question is always bound to rise "Who is this hero and why does he wear that crown?"

The question "why" is forever on young lips. Paderewski told me the story that, long ago, he spent an evening alone with a little boy, as guest of a Polish doctor who advised him to stay in, because of a cold, while the family went out. Subjected to a volley of questions Paderewski, the resourceful, was finally cornered into admitting, as the ultimate cause of his ailment and seclusion: "I was foolish." Whereupon, his inquisitive little friend jumped at the conclusion: "So, you were small?"

Mr. Milo: How far back do your recollections go?

Prof. Stojowski: It was as a little boy that I first experienced the engaging smile, the warm hand-clasp, characteristic of Paderewski. In my hometown of Cracow, a concert was announced by a young man hardly out of his teens, whom the informed ones recognized as highly promising and original. "But," the principal critic of the town said to my mother, proud owner of a new piano, "don't let him touch your piano. When he calls, say you've lost the key."

Ten years had elapsed since the early boyhood acquaintance when, as I recall, I stood with a few friends at the Paris railroad station, waiting for a boat-train to pull in, that was bringing Paderewski back after his first American tour in 1891. He communicated to us, vividly and tellingly, his first impressions of the New World. "It is woman's land," he said, and a warm tribute to women's cultural endeavors followed. Then, prophetically he remarked: "the German is all over the place, arrogant, brutal, intolerable . . ."

When Paderewski was in the early bloom of his glory, I myself was a fresh laureate of the Conservatoire, eager for a sterner discipline than the academic one that had brought me honors. Like Paderewski himself, I had started my career as a composer; he prevailed upon me to cater to the piano with greater love, lest it might take a revenge. I had seen him work and nothing is as inspiring as example. Had we not lived, for a while, under the same roof in a Paris hotel? So I became his pupil by a sort of natural gravity. The lessons were intermittent of course, because he was much on the road. But, later on, every summer my vacations ended at his beautiful home in Morges, on Lake Geneva, and when



Ignacy Paderewski and Sigismond Stojowski.

at the piano, there was no time limit. Once Madame Paderewska scolded me for trespassing. His excuse, after four hours of steady work was: "Of course, dear, I now want to tell him everything."

The salient feature of Paderewski—man and artist—was to give himself unstintingly. When with you, he was all yours. At work, he was possessed by his Art. Whether his ideal or his country, a cause or a friend, he served with his whole great mind and heart.

To say that I owe him the best of my knowledge is far too little. If, due to him, I advanced in the understanding of the masters, towards some realization or mastery, yet, it was the knowledge and love of him, masterpiece of God in human nature, that accomplished most for me. Through the span of a lifetime, I have had the rare joy of watching at close range and worshipping the ideal embodied, of the artist who never "stoops to conquer," of the man who, by supreme gifts, lofty purpose and glorious achievement, does "justify the world."

Mr. Milo: If ever this sad world needed justification, it is at this crucial hour, when Art seems the only escape from dismal realities, the sole abode of the ideal left!

Prof. Stojowski: To Paderewski, art meant service. The commandment was: "Country first, Art next." So, when the hour of destiny struck for Poland, he stood as ready as he was capable of service and sacrifice. I happened to be in Morges, where with my colleague, Ernst Schelling, we had organized a Chinese Fiesta for the Master's name-day, St. Ignatius' Day, July 31st, 1914, when an ominous call from the American Embassy in Berne announced that war had been declared. As if thunderstruck, the gay cosmopolitan crowd dispersed. Confused counsels prevailed, even the placid lake seemed seething, in front of the ever impassive and impressive Mont Blanc. Paderewski pierced the fogs from the start with his eagle's eye. Poland must turn to the Western Democracies, to the traditional friendship of France, to Britain's fair play, "last but not least" to American generosity and love of liberty. Hungry for liberty for many generations, embattled Poland was now to go hungry for bread. A double task stood clear: save the Poles for future Poland, restore a free Poland for those saved. Paderewski's Swiss home became a focal point for both charitable and political organizations. The sequel is well known. Many yet remember his campaigning in Paris, London and the United States, where fiery oratory seconded the beauty of his Art. Hearts melted and purse-strings loosened at his appeals—and, in time, doors of chancelleries opened to the great gentleman-artist that were closed to professional politicians. He was impressed by the beautifully worded manifesto of the Russian Grand Duke Nicholas that proclaimed the re-union of Polish lands torn

(Continued on page 14)

Forty-Seven Prominent Americans Appeal to President Truman to Save Poland and Democracy

(Continued from page 2)

seventeen Lublinites. Mr. Thugutt, a leader of the Peasant Party in London, was appointed but refused to join the new Government. Moreover, Mr. Stanczyk has been dismissed from the Socialist Party and Mr. Mikolajczyk is only Second Vice-Premier, not even a member of the Presidential Council. The only non-Lublin members of this Council—Witos and Grabski, both in the high seventies, were too old and too ill even to participate in recent negotiations.

The new "unity" Cabinet, therefore, represents only part of the Peasant Party plus the Communist Party, whose pre-war strength in Poland was less than 2% of the vote. Hence this new Government is bound to be just as much the prisoner of the Kremlin as are the imprisoned envoys, who should have been among its ministers—the more so because the civil servants are holdovers from the Lublin puppet regime and because the Russian army still occupies Poland with the help of the Russian officered Lublin Army.

Under these circumstances, what confidence can we have that the Yalta promise of "free, unfettered elections" in which "Democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part..." will be fulfilled? Almost anyone, in whatever country, who criticizes Russia's demands is branded as a fascist by the Soviet press, so it is easy to believe that any such person would be disqualified from participation in the forthcoming election.

Moreover, to carry out the Yalta promise of free elections in Poland (or other liberated countries) without obtaining the return of the vast numbers who have been forcibly removed, would make these elections a tragic farce even if the elections when finally held were really free—an impossible hope unless there is a joint Allied supervision in all of Poland.

If we fail to secure the right of political prisoners, deportees and soldiers of the Polish Army to return, IF they wish, with **JOINT GUARANTEES OF PERSONAL SAFETY**, then this Polish "solution" will have put a premium on murder and terror. It will be an election won not by ballots but by bullets, hostages and concentration camps.

It is too late now to restore the dead. But it is not too late to use every ounce and every penny of our diplomatic and economic power to save the lives and liberties of those in Poland we are pledged to protect, not only by the Atlantic Charter but at Yalta.

Consequently we respectfully urge the adoption of the following measures at the forthcoming conference, for only such measures will inspire confidence in either the justice or the permanence of the Polish solution:

1. The release of the 12 Poles convicted in the recent trials.
2. Big Three agreement as to the terms of a fair election law which would insure the members of all democratic parties the right to vote, (including those deported or exiled from their country) which would guarantee freedom of speech and the press, to the opposition parties, and which would provide for the international supervision of the next elections.
3. The withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland before the election. If Russia is unwilling to do so, then the joint occupation of Poland by Russian, American and British troops during the electoral period. This is in accordance with the Moscow declaration of November 1, 1943 which declared that the Big Three "after the termination of hostilities . . . will not employ their military forces within the territory of other states except

for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and alter joint consultation."

4. The right of correspondents, and representatives of the American Red Cross and other charitable organizations, freely to circulate in Poland and other Soviet-occupied territories upon the same terms as we allow Soviet journalists and other agents to circulate in countries under our control.

5. The application of such "concert" principles accepted in the Yalta declaration not only to Poland but to all other countries, such as Greece where a single great power is in dominant control as a result of recent military operations.

We respectfully submit, Mr. President, that the friendship of the Soviet Union that we all seek in the interests of lasting peace, cannot be obtained as long as getting along with Russia means concessions on trivial issues by Soviet Russia and concessions on basic issues by the United States. We believe in Big Three unity, but we are convinced that it can survive only on the basis of commonly accepted moral principles. They are the only principles which will remove the suspicion and fear of Russian policy which disturbs not only the peoples of Eastern Europe but the people of America.

With full appreciation of the heavy burden you bear, we nevertheless feel obliged to state our profound conviction, born out by the tragic history of the past ten years, that a policy of one-sided appeasement of totalitarianism can lead only to disillusionment, frustration and grave peril to the American people.

Respectfully yours,

Authorized Signatures: *William Agar*, Ex. Vice-Pres. of Freedom House; *Luigi Antonini*, Int. Ladies' Garment Workers Union; *Elliott V. Bell*, New York State Superintendent of Banking; *William E. Bohn*, Editor of the "New Leader"; *Robert R. Bradford*, Lt. Gov. of Massachusetts; *Harvey W. Brown*, Pres., International Assn. of Machinists; *Raymond Leslie Buell*, Former Chairman, Foreign Policy Assn.; *John Chamberlain*, Author; *William H. Chamberlin*, Author; *George Creel*, Writer; *Frank R. Crosswaith*, Chairman of Negro Labor Committee; *John Dewey*, Philosopher; *Max Eastman*, Editor; *Christopher Emmet*, Commentator; *Milton J. Ferguson*, Librarian, Brooklyn Library; *Mrs. George Fitch*, Writer; *The Rev. George B. Ford*, Catholic Chaplain, Columbia University; *Varian Fry*, Editor of "Common Sense"; *The Rev. Robert I. Gannon*, S.J., President of Fordham University; *William Green*, President of American Federation of Labor; *Harry D. Gideonse*, President of Brooklyn College; *Hugh Gibson*, first United States envoy to reborn Poland; *Emily Hahn*, Author; *Ross Hoffman*, Prof. of History, Fordham University; *The Honorable Herbert Hoover*; *Katherine Gauss-Jackson*, Ass. Editor of "Harper's"; *The Rev. John LaFarge*, Editor of "America"; *Suzanne LaFollette*, Author and Editor; *Alfred M. Landon*, Former Governor of Kansas; *Isaac Don Levine*, Author; *Sol Levitas*, Editor of the "New Leader"; *Prof. Robert MacIver*, Columbia University; *Former Justice Jeremiah T. Mahoney*; *Liston M. Oak*, Editor of the "New Leader"; *Justice Ferdinand Pecora*; *Martin J. Quigley*, Publisher; *A. Philipp Randolph*, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; *Burton Rascoe*, Drama Critic, New York "World Telegram"; *The Rev. Sturgis Lee Riddle*, The Churchman Associates; *Justice Francis E. Rivers*; *Harry Scherman*, President, Book-of-the-Month Club; *Benjamin Stolberg*, Author; *Oswald Garrison Villard*, Editor; *Louis Waldman*, Attorney; *Michael Williams*, Special Editor of "The Commonwealth"; *Matthew Woll*, Vice-Pres. of American Federation of Labor; *W. E. Woodward*, Author of "Tom Paine."

(Titles of signatories compiled by the editor)

THE GREATNESS THAT WAS PADEREWSKI'S

(Continued from page 13)

asunder as Russia's war aim, although what Paderewski wanted for Poland was not shadowy autonomy, but full-fledged independence and integrity. I recall his warning: "Whosoever does not look ahead at least twenty years, has no right to dabble in politics."

Ominous indeed were the 20 years that saw his dream fulfilled as high office was thrust upon him, his piano closed and then re-opened, after he resigned and his fortune was spent. His deepened Art was acclaimed again all over the world. But lo! the dream lay shattered . . . Old age frowned at the now bereaved Master-statesman, while even he could not have foreseen that he would have to open an exiled Polish Parliament on French soil with the statement: "We incarnate the majesty of Poland's martyrdom." Finally, after address-

ing as veterans the remainder of that Polish Army which his clarion-call in the first World War had raised in these United States, he now reposes, the first civilian, in the Arlington National Cemetery, while we who mourn him, hark back to his inspiration as a challenge to humanity, an injunction to his countrymen to keep the faith that Poland will rise again! For Poland's voice, which in him sounded so nobly, cannot be missing in the Symphony of Nations, if "God's melodies flow on" in a world of "justice which is peace."

Mr. Milo: I recall the mention of "God's melodies" in Paderewski's eloquent address at Chopin's Centennial in the Polish city of Lwow in 1910, followed by the statement that: "where silence falls, life also ceases." Like the music of Chopin, Paderewski's music of which you, Professor Stojowski, are an ardent champion, will live on.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE 1944 WARSAW UPRISING

(Continued from page 4)

Uprising, however, we are concerned primarily with the armed units which emerged from urban communities and whose activities were carried on in the city proper.

In the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 the hearts of the fighters beat in unison; as they fought on the barricades, there was not a single crack in the solid ranks of the National Coalition. This Coalition was led by the working people. Without a single dissenting note, the fighters sang the Marseillaise and the *Warszawianka*⁴; and the words of Dombrowski's *Mazurek*⁵ sounded forth not as a nationalistic demonstration, but as the expression of "citizens fighting for the freedom of all peoples."

Facts and documents testify to the maximum efforts made by the Poles since the outbreak of the Uprising to establish and maintain contact with the Russian command and political leadership.⁶ But it also remains true that at the moment when the Uprising broke out coordination between the Polish and Russian policies had not yet been achieved. Speculations as to whose fault it was are vain and sterile. The problem itself, however, is clear enough.

On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance to know that under the given historical and political conditions and at the moment when the Russians were approaching the capital of Poland, a spontaneous revolutionary movement of the working masses of Warsaw arose, striving to achieve liberation with its own hands and to show that it was the master in its own land. It is important to understand that this effort directly followed the ideological line of the traditional alliance

⁴ Old Polish revolutionary song of Warsaw revolutionaries.

⁵ Polish National Anthem; at first a song of the Polish Legions of Gen. Dombrowski, who fought in Italy in 1796-1799.

⁶ Capt. Kalugin, a Red Army Liaison officer, dropped by parachute into Warsaw, tried vainly to communicate with Moscow and finally, on August 5, 1944, sent a message to Marshal Stalin via London, but received no answer.

between the proletariat and the intelligentsia, whose children now became the Warsaw fighters of the Home Army; last, but not least, it is essential that we realize that this move was also justified militarily, since the establishment of a bridgehead on the left bank of the Vistula River, where Warsaw lies, could have decided the destiny of this sector of the Eastern Front in a manner catastrophic to the Germans.

The attitude of the Russians towards the Warsaw Uprising only served to confirm the moral right of the Poles to have taken such a decision. Against this background, the German attitude towards the Warsaw Uprising, their all-out effort to prevent the Poles from holding Warsaw at any cost, amply proved that when the Soviet leadership faces a conflict between strategic and political factors, Soviet strategy is shaped primarily by political factors.

And that is to be regretted. Because, had the Soviets in this case given precedence to strategical factors, the political consequences would have changed as well in the most favorable direction. In view of both historical traditions and current social reality, the emotional attitude of the leading elements in the Uprising (which were also the leaders of the entire country in its underground fight) was such, that whole-hearted assistance, and its political consequences, could have guaranteed to Russia on the part of Poland something that no puppet committee can ever guarantee: collaboration based on honest confidence, on good experience, and on faith in friendly intentions.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that in the question of the relation between strategy and politics in Polish life, tradition and current reality always have and always will determine the social aspect of the nation's struggles for freedom and independence. This is fittingly expressed in the words spoken by the prominent Polish Labor leader, Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski, in September, 1939: "THE WORKERS DO NOT SURRENDER. THE WORKERS CONTINUE TO FIGHT."

The Magnitude of the Polish Air Force Effort in the War Against Germany

(Continued from page 7)

U-boats in all waters, from the fiords of Norway down to the shores of Spain.

The great developments in fighter equipment made it possible to organize Fighter Reconnaissance Units, which have proved to be most valuable in modern warfare. As an instance of this kind of activity, we may mention Polish Fighter Reconnaissance Squadron No. 318, which co-operated with the Allied Armies and, in particular, with the Polish Second Army Corps, during the entire Italian Campaign.

5. The African Campaign, 1943

At the request of the British Command Authorities, a team of Polish pilots was sent to Africa to take part in the fight against the German Luftwaffe on that continent. This was only an episode, but it proved that, wherever opportunity was offered, the Polish Air Force was always ready to undertake the fight.

The Polish team taking part in the Battle of Tunisia, the Sicilian invasion and the Italian campaign, scored 37 enemy aircraft destroyed, against their own losses of only two pilots.

6. The Invasion (June 6, 1944 until V-E Day)

The last stage of operations, the invasion of the Continent, began in Normandy on the memorable day of June 6, 1944, in the hope of which the enslaved nations of Europe had been living for so many years.

The Polish Fighter Force also scored a number of victories in these proceedings. During the operations the Army and Navy received an amount of air support unheard of in all history, and this was a decisive factor in the victory of the Allies over the Germans. The whole Polish Fighter Force took an active part in this battle and gave of their maximum efforts. Our Polish Fighter Squadrons proceeded over

France, Belgium and Holland to the heart of Germany, sowing destruction and death.

The Polish Spitfire Wing, consisting of three Squadrons, carried out tactical operational flights. Their efforts may be measured by the number of their sorties.

The Mustang Wing with different equipment, carried out sweeps and light bombing raids in the rear of the German Army and protected the Bomber Force in day operations against Germany itself.

At the time when the Germans began their last offensive operations against British territory by using flying bombs, this Wing was ordered to defend London and carried out successful operations against the V-1's.

The Spring Offensive of the Allies gave a new task to the Polish Squadrons, which now concentrated on the support of the Armies, and especially on the support of armored columns, by destroying German supply columns and equipment.

What is the total result of the participation of the Polish Fighter Force in the present war? The 1,370 aircraft destroyed during the whole period of the present war will illustrate the value of the Polish Fighter Pilots.

After the memorable Battle of Britain the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, paid tribute to the Fighter Pilots in these world-famous words: "Never in the history of mankind has so much been owed by so many to so few. This simple and moving praise also included the Polish pilots.

The participation of the Polish Fighter Air Force in this second world war may be epitomized under three headings:—

1. Their unflinching morale throughout the whole war.
2. The fame they won for the Polish Colors.
3. The great devotion of all Polish Fighter Pilots to the ideals which can best be expressed by the words embroidered on the Polish Air Force Colors, "Love demands sacrifice."

THE LEPER KING

(Continued from page 12)

in space, then it was useless to climb it, useless to gaze upward.

The night darkened. The stars gleamed the more brightly. The Sultan thought on:

The Koran does not encompass all Truth. It contains only a part of it. (Lucky that only the night could hear the blasphemous thoughts of the Sultan.) It was but the antechamber of knowledge. For perfection, according to the Koran, is reached without exertion. To acquire virtue, it is enough to war against the unbelievers and to make pilgrimage to Mecca. No sensible man could ever admit that. Of what value is virtue acquired without effort?

Why does the Prophet not demand more of his followers? The Prophet Jesus is said to demand much. He desires

total sacrifice, complete devotion. He is greedy for souls. He commands souls to change according to His will. It is not easy to satisfy Him.

But in spite of this the Prophet Mohammed conquered the Prophet Jesus!

He conquered! He conquered! He conquered!

The Cross fell!

The Sultan sighed heavily in his sorrow, in the discord in his soul. He groaned like the lion that still hungers. He stared into the darkness as though awaiting a sign. Feeling meaner and poorer than a wandering beggar, the great victorious Sultan implored Allah for a sign.

"Show me, what am I to do, O Allah!

"Why did God betray and forsake the Christians?

"But perhaps . . . perhaps . . . it was the Christians who forsook God."

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